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VOLUME XXIV, No. 16

MONDAY, MARCH 2, 1931

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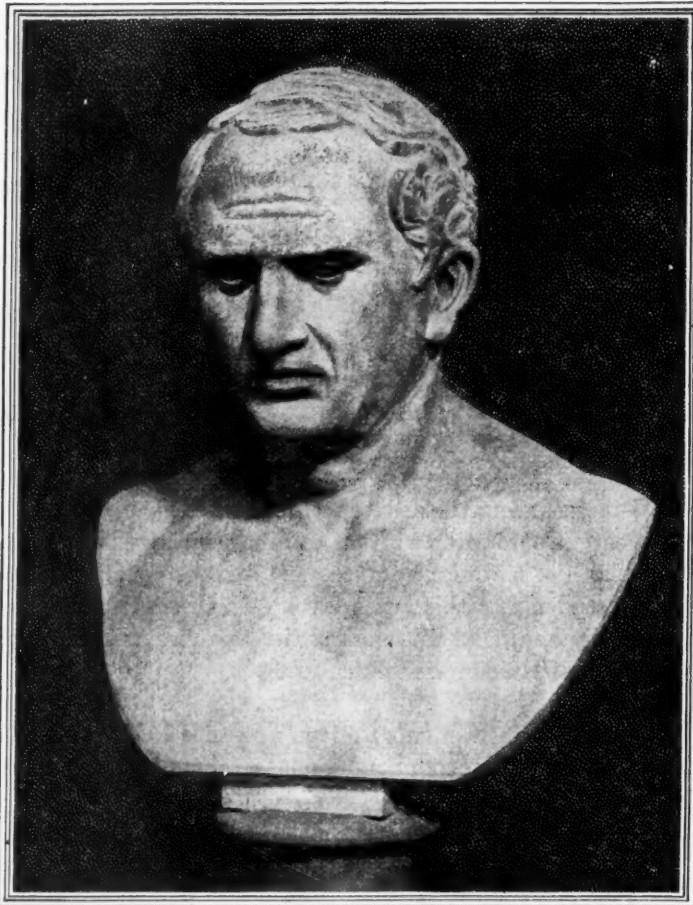
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FIVE CAMPAIGNS OF EXCAVATION AT CORINTH SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS

Corinth was a city noted for its wealth and luxury. Its geographical position guaranteed strategical and economical preeminence, for it controlled the Isthmus, whose transit offered a short cut for transportation between the East and the West, and it possessed an impregnable citadel which provided sure protection to the inhabitants whenever danger threatened. Its economic advantages gave the city a predominant position in power and in riches twice in its history, under the tyrants in the seventh and the sixth centuries B.C., and again when it was the Roman capital of Achaia. But its wealth aroused the envy of its neighbors, and arrogance is the inevitable concomitant of power, so that, when the city resisted the Romans in 146 B.C., it was thoroughly sacked. In 396 A.D., when Alaric and his Goths swarmed over Greece, the smoke from the burning buildings of Corinth covered the Isthmus for days.

Ever more restricted areas of the ancient city were occupied in subsequent sporadic revivals of prosperity under Byzantines and Franks until finally only rolling fields of grain covered her erstwhile "palaces imperial, and all her populous streets and temples lewd"¹, except that some monolithic columns and architrave blocks have always conspicuously marked the spot where one great temple once gloriously stood. This temple was investigated by Dr. Wilhelm Dörpfeld in 1886. Ten years later the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, under Professor R. B. Richardson, then Director of the School, began excavations on the site. These have continued with occasional interruptions to the present time. During the past three seasons, under Dr. Rhys Carpenter, now Director of the American School at Athens, they have been conducted with great intensity and have yielded most important results.

In the American School's first campaign at Corinth in 1896 Dr. Richardson sought by many trenches to locate some buildings in the city that are mentioned by Pausanias (2.6-5.5) in his description of his visit to the city. His quest was extraordinarily fruitful in view of the problems of terrain that he faced and in view of the limited financial resources at his command. Among the sites that were identified during the first season was that of the great theater. It was found to be located on a sloping hillside that faces the north with a broad outlook over a fertile plain whose edge is washed by the deep blue waters of the Corinthian Gulf, while in the distance tower the snow-clad peaks of Parnassus. But the remains of the theater were covered by a deep deposit of earth that had been washed down from the upper hills. Dr. Richardson had means to dig only a

couple of exploratory trenches. Subsequently additional trenches were opened by Dr. T. W. Heermance and by Dr. B. H. Hill, but the excavated earth was piled on the edge of the cuts, so that the visitor looked down a crevasse when he sought to espouse a few foundation blocks that had been uncovered.

Such was the condition of the site when I visited it in the spring of 1924. My work in Asia Minor had been suspended because of the disturbed political conditions there, and I was seeking a place in Greece for excavation. Corinth with its traditions of material wealth and of artistic glory seemed to offer as promising prospects of archaeological success as did any available classical site in Greece. In Corinth a gigantic task that clamored for completion was the clearance of the area of the theater. Therefore, with the supporting counsel of Dr. Hill, then Director of the American School at Athens, and with the approval of the Managing Committee of the American School, I assumed the obligation of excavating this theater. The first problem that presented itself was that of the disposal of the vast quantity of earth that had accumulated here throughout many centuries. This was happily solved by carrying the earth in cars on a narrow gauge railroad nearly half a mile to the north, where it was thrown over a cliff. Previous examination had proved that no ancient remains would be thus covered. The mountain of earth formed by the 36,600 tons that were ultimately removed from the theater has become merely an extension of the original cliff without appearing as an unseemly blot on the landscape.

The progress of the first campaign in the spring of 1925 was slow and discouraging. The trackbed for the railroad in the vicinity of the theater passed through a settlement of Byzantine houses which it was necessary to clear and examine carefully before partial demolition of them could be effected. The selection of the place in the theater for beginning excavation was largely determined by the technical considerations of the dumping problem and its relation to future developments of the work of clearance. The site that was indicated as most favorable from this point of view was the north end of the west *cavea*. As it happened, all the seats and the seat-foundations there had been removed, so that nothing was found in place except some cuttings in the hard-pan where seat-foundations had once rested. A second trial above a point that was hoped to be, and that actually proved to be, the south side of the orchestra revealed the amazing fact that the maximum deposit of earth here was forty feet deep². However, it was in this area that, toward the end of the season, the first ray of light gleamed on our gloomy contemplation of deep and empty pits, for a small part

¹Keats, Lamia 1.351-352.

²aThe depth was due in part to later dumping, in part to wash from the slopes on the south.

of the circuit wall of the orchestra was cleared and was found to be decorated with painted scenes.

The work of subsequent campaigns has resulted in the complete uncovering of the theater, with the exception of sections on either side of the *cavea*, the excavation of which seems unprofitable from the point of view of prospective discoveries and unessential for the enhancement of the beauty of the site. A preliminary report of the structural features of the building was published in *The American Journal of Archaeology* 33 (1929), 77-97, by Professor Richard Stillwell, of Princeton University, who, as architect of the American School at Athens, has had complete charge of the architectural branch of the work throughout the excavations.

The history of the building has been accurately determined so far as concerns its structural periods. Prior to the fourth century B.C. no structure of stone existed on the site, but, since the underlying strata are thickly strewn with objects of the sixth and the fifth centuries, it is obvious that this natural theatrical area was in use in early times, and that this, in fact, was the site of the musical festival to which Ibycus was wending his way when he was killed by robbers on the Scironian Cliffs, and was the place where the murderers were later apprehended. Probably wooden seats were placed on the hillside, whence the spectators had a glorious view to the north over the Gulf of Corinth toward Helikon and Parnassus in the distance.

Early in the fourth century a substantial structure of stone was erected. The material employed is the soft poros that was freely used for Corinthian buildings. The structure was a large theater with sixty-three rows of seats, divided into sections (wedges) by thirteen flights of stairs. The seats are plain blocks of stone that rest on foundations laid in cuttings of the hard-pan. That some of the seats were reserved, as in the theater of Dionysus at Athens and in other theaters, is proved by the presence of an inscription cut in the face of one of the blocks; in letters of the fourth century the inscription gives the word KORFAN, the dialectic genitive plural of the word for 'girl'. The seating capacity is estimated by Mr. Stillwell at from eighteen to twenty thousand persons. A characteristic structural feature is a deep, open water-channel (or gutter) that encircles the orchestra and is crossed by stone bridges of unique shape opposite the exits from the flights of stairs. This type of gutter accords with other evidence for dating the building in the first half of the fourth century B.C.

The Greek theater existed without essential change until the city was destroyed by Mummius in 146 B.C. After the resettlement of Corinth by order of Julius Caesar in 46 to 44 B.C. the site and the remains of the Greek building were used for a Roman reconstruction that involved an alteration of the plan to conform with the Roman scheme of a semicircular *cavea*. At the same time the pitch of the *cavea* was raised by the placement of heavy walls upon the Greek seats, or, where the seats had been removed, upon their foundations. Evidence for the date of this structure was secured from a small piece of the wall that was removed in order to uncover the eighth Greek stair for its entire extent. In it were found a coin of Julius Caesar, four coins of Augustus,

and a lamp and a fragment of a signed Arretine bowl that are dated in the latter part of the first century B.C.^{1b}. This Roman theater was a building of imposing appearance and of impressive size, with a total diameter of four hundred feet. It was used for some one hundred years during the time when Corinth was the large and prosperous capital of the Roman province of Achaia. After that time numerous alterations were made in it. The building was apparently weakened in some way, with the consequence that it was found necessary to support the walls by heavy buttresses on the outside. I have suggested that this injury was due to the earthquake in the time of Vespasian to which reference is made by Suetonius². In any case the evidence proves that a structural alteration was effected early in the second century, when the orchestra of the theater was transformed into an arena. The lowest ten rows of seats in the *cavea* were removed and the sloping rock of the hillside was cut back to form a high wall. Where the living rock was lacking, the wall was built of large blocks of poros. It is carried across the entrances of the *parodoi* and joins the front of the stage on either side. Its period is attested by the presence of the foundations of the Roman *parodos* beneath it and by a coin of Domitian that was found in it. The wall, which was originally about ten feet high, was faced with stucco, on which were painted scenes of combats between men and animals.

THE ROMAN WALL PAINTINGS

A late fill of loose stones, which had been thrown in front of the wall, had injured the stucco in many places, and it was necessary to exercise the greatest care in excavation since the sharp points of the stones had often pierced the surface of the stucco. On the west side of the *cavea* most of the wall had been destroyed, but in the remaining circuit of the orchestra sufficient was preserved to furnish a series of interesting groups of figures. The colors, red, blue, green, yellow, purple, and white were brilliant when they were first uncovered, and copies of the scenes in water-color were immediately made. The wall is cut by three niches, one of which is opposite the center of the stage and provides access to the *cavea* by means of a narrow stair. An outstanding figure of the paintings is seen beside this central passageway. This is a man who is dressed in a long white cloak with broad purple border; he wears high crimson boots. Such a costume, which is quite different from that of the other combatants, signalizes imperial rank and indicates that we have before us a representation of the Emperor of Rome, who is poised a spear which he is about to hurl at an immense lion that is charging toward him. It is well known that Emperors took part in the wild beast contests of the games, and the records report that sometimes they committed devastating slaughter³. Probably they were protected from any great risk in some way similar to that shown on the wall, for there behind the lion a husky gladiator restrains the ardor

^{1b}33 (1929), 518. This and like references below are to *The American Journal of Archaeology*.

²Vespasianus 17.

³See, for example, Dio Cassius 73.18.

of the beast by means of a rope attached to his hind leg. Another scene represents a gladiator who, crouching with long, braced spear, awaits an on-rushing bull which is gaudily decorated for the spectacle with fillets, ribbons, and rosettes. But here again danger to the combatant is minimized by the presence of another gladiator standing close beside him ready to intervene in case of any miscue in the plans. Two other scenes are purely acrobatic in character. In one a youth, head downward with his hands on the sand floor of the arena, is in the act of making a handspring over a charging lion; in the other an athlete is depicted as vaulting with the help of a long pole over the back of a leaping leopard.

Several *graffiti* appear on the wall. Beneath one of the lions a two-line inscription states that the lion recognizes the fallen man as his savior and fawns upon him. Beneath another lion is the Homeric epithet 'mountain-bred'. It is, therefore, probable that the writer had in mind the familiar story of Androcles and the lion, and the inscriptions may be reminiscent of the visit to Greece of Apion, the Homeric scholar, who was a spectator of the Androcles episode and recounts the tale, as recorded by Aulus Gellius⁴. The wall-paintings evidently reproduce actual scenes from the games in the arena, which were contests demanding acrobatic skill rather than battles to the death between gladiators. This conclusion is deduced from the presence of three refuge-caves cut in the circumference wall, and from a lost inscription that is recorded in Boeckh, *Inscriptiones Graecae* 4.365. The inscription was on the base of a bronze statue of a physician who cared for the hunters in the games, and was set up by the hunters near the dens of wild beasts. It is said in a note on the inscription that the inscription was found by Cyriacus of Ancona near the Temple of Juno, which is without doubt to be identified with the present Temple of Apollo that lies near the theater on the southeast⁵.

Contests between athletes and wild beasts were very popular in Corinth. The fondness of Corinthians for this sport is made a subject of reproach to them by the Emperor Julian, who chides them for spending their money on the purchase of bears and leopards for the hunting games that were frequently held in their theaters⁶. Julian's words show that more than one theater was used for this purpose in the fourth century A.D. This statement has been confirmed by recent excavations, for Mr. Oscar Broneer has discovered that the orchestra of the Odeion, the smaller theater lying just south of the great theater, was changed into an arena some time after 222 A.D.⁷. A large amphitheater was also built in Roman times in the east part of the city. This building has not been excavated, and evidence for its date is lacking, but I believe it to be the structure to which Dio Chrysostomus refers disparagingly⁸. Apparently, then, in the early part of the third century Corinth had three arenas for gladiatorial contests, the large amphitheater, the great theater, and

the Odeion. But even the Corinthian passion for this type of spectacle did not require so much accommodation for its gratification, and the great theater was again altered by retransformation into a theater of standard type. This was accomplished by the removal of the upper third of the painted circumference wall of the orchestra and by the construction of seats above the remainder of the wall down to the level of the orchestra. Still another reconstruction of the building occurred about the middle of the fourth century. The theater was finally destroyed by Alaric when he burned the city in 396 A.D. Such, in brief outline, is the history of the great theater at Corinth. It is derived from architectural remains, from stratification of successive deposits, which are especially clear in the floor of the orchestra, and from the objects, such as pottery, lamps, and coins, found in the earth and in the walls. In spite of the dilapidated state of the ruins sufficient remains to give a clear vision of the building as it was both in Greek and in Roman times, and to permit of its architectural reconstruction on paper. The site today is impressive for its size and dignity and is distinguished by its magnificent location.

THE THEATER STREET

Access to the theater on the east side was furnished by a broad paved street that descends from the higher land on the south by means of ramps and steps, and, skirting the outer wall of the *cavea*, passes the entrance of the east *parodos* and terminates in a large rectangular plaza. From the northeast corner of the plaza another street runs east in a direction that would eventually lead to the Lechaion Road. The evidence for the date of the street is not conclusive. The present pavement is subsequent to the Greek period; pieces of Greek pottery and terracottas were found beneath some of the slabs, but nothing of the Roman age was discovered in this deposit. The wall of the *cavea*, which the street adjoins, belongs to the first Roman reconstruction in the time of Augustus. This view rests on the evidence supplied by the contents of a shaft in it which is reached by a doorway in the outer wall and descends to an underground passage. About 4500 coins were found scattered above the pavement of the street, but the earliest of these is of the time of Hadrian; most of them date from the fourth century. At the entrance to the square a long limestone block, which is not in its original position, bears a Latin inscription stating that a certain Erastus laid the pavement at his own expense. I have sought to identify this Erastus with the friend of St. Paul, the chamberlain of Corinth, who is mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans 16.23⁹. This identification has recently been disputed by Mr. A. G. Roos¹⁰, but the arguments advanced by him are not sufficiently cogent to militate against the improbability that two persons with the unusual name of Erastus should have held high fiscal office in the city almost contemporaneously.

On the west side of the square a stairway leads down to a large open rectangular area that was surrounded by

⁴S.14. 5-20.

⁵The physician Galen, when he was a young man, was physician to a gladiatorial troupe in Pergamum. See Galen 13.599.

⁶Epidotiae 35, 408 D, 409 A.

⁷32(1928), 464.

⁸Oratio 31.121.

⁹33 (1929), 525-526.

¹⁰Mnemosyne 58 (1930), 160-165.

a *stoa*. This building, which extends behind the stage for its entire width, was handsomely finished with marble pavements and revetments, and evidently served as a place of recreation and refreshment for the patrons of the theater.

The side of the street opposite the east *parodos* was occupied by houses, in the room of one of which an important discovery was made in the form of a floor constructed of a pebble mosaic of the Greek period. The room, which is nearly square, and measures 3.80 by 3.60 meters, has on its floor an outside meander border within which a circle, bordered by a wave pattern, contains a series of graceful palmettes. In the corners are animal combats, appearing in groups of a lion attacking a horse and a griffin attacking a deer. Like many of the remains at Corinth this floor was covered with a thick coating of lime which it was necessary to scrape off with great care. It was not until thorough cleaning had been completed that the attacking animal in the second group was revealed as a griffin. The mosaic is very similar to a floor that was recently discovered at Olynthus by Professor D. M. Robinson, to which it is possible to give a *terminus ante quem* because Olynthus was destroyed in 348 B.C.¹¹. Professor Robinson states that the mosaic at Corinth is later than that at Olynthus because of the "spots on animals". But there are no spots on the animals other than the outlines of the pebbles. I see no criterion of style in the Olynthus mosaic that permits of any accurate dating. Professor Robinson says, in another place (88), that ". . . As regards the date it is difficult to say exactly. . ." An important stylistic element of the floor at Corinth is the shape of the palmettes, which is not late. In reality the floors at Olynthus, at Motya¹², and at Corinth are so similar in all respects that they must be practically contemporaneous, dating from the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century B.C., and no priority of date can be reasonably claimed for any one over the others. Besides its historical and artistic interest the mosaic at Corinth suggests also a literary reminiscence of the tale told by Galen about the visit of Diogenes the Cynic to a friend at Corinth whose house was beautified with fine mosaic pavements¹³. Scholars who have derided this tale on the ground that mosaics were not known in the fourth century may now visit Corinth and see a mosaic floor which Diogenes probably saw and on which he may have walked.

THE SCULPTURE

The excavation of the large theater district of Corinth brought to light many objects with a range of date from the archaic Greek period through numerous successive epochs down to modern times. A study of them furnishes an outline of the fateful history of the city. The pieces of marble sculpture constitute a conspicuous and important group of these objects. Abundant remains of a sculptured frieze were lying in

¹¹Excavations at Olynthus. Part II: Architecture and Sculpture: Houses and Other Buildings, 80-88. See especially Figure 205, opposite page 84 (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930).

¹²J. S. Whitaker, Motya, 195-198, Figures 24 A, 24 B (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1921). <For this book see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 18, 23-24. C. K. >

the neighborhood of the stage building. Vandals and pillagers dealt ruthlessly with these works; they were broken into hundreds of fragments, the sorting and mending of which require much time and infinite patience. Constant progress with the difficult physical task of reconstruction is being made by George Kachros, the intelligent guardian of the Corinth Museum. Brief descriptions of some of the sculptures have been given in my annual reports of the excavations for 1926, 1928, and 1929¹⁴. They are being studied for full publication in the forthcoming volume on the theater by Professor Edward Capps, Jr. The slabs, which are about three feet high, are finished with a projecting shelf at the bottom; on this shelf the figures rest. Three series of subjects are represented, the battle of the gods and the giants, the battle of the Greeks and the amazons, and the labors of Hercules. The slabs belonging to the several series differ somewhat in size and in the degree of finish on the back. They were apparently used as a parapet, and, since all the pieces come from the vicinity of the stage, it is probable that they formed part of the decoration of that building, but its remains are so scanty that its exact location can not be determined. Some pieces of high artistic excellence belong to the gigantomachy. The heads of three of the deities, Hera, Aphrodite, and Apollo, and several figures of the giants are perfect in their preservation and beautiful in their technical execution. The bodies of the giants terminate in serpents, similar to those on the frieze of the altar at Pergamon, and the arrangement of groups and other stylistic elements recall characteristics of the works of the Pergamene School. The combats of the amazonomachy are portrayed as duels with each side having its turn of victory. In two vigorous groups a Greek footsoldier is in the act of giving the death stroke to an amazon whom he has forced to her knees. Another slab shows a mounted amazon who has ridden down and wounded an enemy; the latter is represented on his knees with his nude body bowed in a crumpled state. This figure is particularly successful from the artistic point of view because of the coordination of the lines, the gracefulness of the curves, and the accuracy of the treatment of flesh and muscles. On the other hand some of the figures of the amazons, and notably those of their horses, are finished in a crude and inartistic manner. Similar differences of style are noticeable in the treatment of the figures composing the groups of the labors of Hercules. While I do not wish to anticipate or to prejudice the conclusions on the subject that will be announced by Mr. Capps, I will say that it seems to me probable that these works were made by several different artists of the Roman period, who were copying some famous prototypes, such as the sculptures of the Pergamene altar or the dedications of Attalus on the Acropolis.

When the 'Light of all Greece' was destroyed in 146 B.C., Mummius carried away such works of art as he desired, and the rest were thrown down and mutilated by the Roman soldiers¹⁵. When the city was pillaged by Alaric in 396 A.D., the smoke from

¹³30 (1926), 456-461; 32 (1928), 480; 33 (1929), 529.

¹⁴Ciceron, De Imperio Cn. Pompei 5; Strabo 8, 23.

the ruins clouded the Isthmus for seven days¹⁶. It is little wonder, then, that, when statuary is now found, it usually consists of bodies without heads and of heads without bodies; the heads and the bodies rarely unite, and the odd scattered hands and feet are bewildering in their multiplicity. The occasional discovery of a delicately carved and exquisitely shaped marble hand of a woman arouses futile resentment against the barbarian who dismembered the masterwork to which the insignificant relic had once belonged. But further reflection teaches that the marvel is that any considerable remains have survived the repeated vicissitudes of fire and pillage and earthquake. The excavations have, in fact, brought to light some beautiful and important pieces of sculpture. A noble head of a woman was lying close to the floor of the orchestra¹⁷. The features express dignity and repose, and the eyes reveal a poetical and spiritual disposition. Since, further, the technical execution of the hair and the eyes indicates that the marble is copied from a bronze original, and since it bears certain resemblances to a type of head appearing on some coins of Mytilene, I made the rather venturesome suggestion that this was a copy of the famous bronze statue of Sappho by Silanion. To Mr. Salomon Reinach, however, it recalls rather the Athena of Velletri in the Louvre and the Amazon of the Vatican¹⁸. Another head that was found near the stage is a particularly fine copy of the statue of the Doryphoros by Polyclitos. The work has a freshness of finish on the surface and a delicacy of modeling that are lacking in the other copies. The effectiveness of its appearance is also enhanced by considerable traces of red color that is preserved on the hair, eyes, lips, and nostrils. Similar remains of color occur on many of the sculptures that have been discovered in these excavations, and actual pigments in several colors have also been secured^{19a}.

Exactly in the center of the orchestra and just beneath its latest pavement a Roman head had been buried¹⁹. The features exhibit virile strength, of characteristic imperial type. Because of its resemblance to his portraits on coins, the head has been identified as that of the Emperor Galba. Another imperial portrait has been recognized in the features of a miniature marble bust that was discovered in a trench on the west side of the square²⁰. The correctness of the attribution of this figure to the time of Hadrian is assured by the date of the fifteen coins found with it. Its identification as a representation of the Emperor Hadrian is based on its resemblance to some of the portraits of Hadrian. The small figure, which, including its base, is less than six inches high, is preserved intact and has quite the appearance of a modern mantle ornament. Other marble heads from the area include those of a Roman matron, of the youthful Dionysus, and of the goddess Athena. The one piece of archaic sculpture is a badly damaged head of a man that is carved in poros which was covered by a coat of stucco.

¹⁶Claudian 2.190. ¹⁷30 (1926), 462, Plate VI.

¹⁸Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Fifth Period, 16, 296 (November, 1927). ^{19a}32 (1928), 330-332.
¹⁹30 (1926), 454, Figure 8. ²⁰33 (1929), 532, Figure 14.

The bodies without heads show an equally wide range of style and period. The figure of a Roman, clad in a long toga, was lying in even horizontal position at the base of a wall in the east *parodos*²¹. It had been carefully laid in its position at the end of the fourth century A.D., for coins of this century were found about it. Another impressive Roman statue is the figure of an emperor who stands with his left arm raised aloft. He wears a long robe that is artistically draped about the body and hangs from the left shoulder in graceful folds. A second fragmentary torso of this type is characterized by the preservation of much pink color on the cloak. A different period is represented by the nude figure of a youthful athlete, which is a copy in marble of a bronze work of the Polyclitan School²². It was lying in the earth above the west side of the square, not far from the spot where the finest of our sculptures was subsequently found to be standing. The trials and troubles and tribulations invariably associated with a large excavation are fully compensated by the discovery of a single fine work. When, as in this case, the object is so situated that two days' labor is required for its extrication, the element of suspense enhances the sense of gratification that is finally experienced. A life-sized marble figure of a young athletic woman was found erect on its base on the edge of the square²³. The short chiton, the muscular limbs, and the high hunting boots identify the woman either as Artemis or as an amazon. The technical treatment of the figure indicates that the marble is a copy of a bronze original. Since a statue of Artemis, the huntress, stood near the Lechaion Road, and since Artemis is represented as a design on the Corinthian coins, I have called this statue Artemis. A noticeable characteristic of the statue is the beautiful modeling and finish of the legs. Strongylion, who made a statue of Artemis for the neighboring town of Megara, also sculptured an amazon which was called *euknemon*, from the beauty of its legs; the statue was so greatly admired by Nero that it was carried around in his retinue. My colleague, Dr. F. J. deWaele, has suggested that the work at Corinth may be a copy of the amazon of Strongylion²⁴.

The discovery of so much sculpture in a comparatively small area at Corinth proves that the destructive efforts of pillaging soldiers are not wholly efficient, and indicates that historical records of destruction should not deter archaeologists from the investigation of any specific site.

THE INSCRIPTIONS

Corinth was a city of great wealth and power in the time of the tyrants, it was a place of importance throughout the classical and hellenistic epochs, and in Roman times it was the magnificent and luxurious capital of Achaia. Innumerable laws, decrees, treaties, and dedications must have been carved in stone and set up within its walls, and it is, therefore, a surprising phenomenon that very few inscriptions have been found at Corinth. But, although those from my branch of the work are few in number, they are of considerable interest and are being prepared for publication by Dr.

²¹32 (1928), 479, Figure 3.

²²33 (1929), 534, Plate IX.

²³32 (1928), 488, Figure 9.

²⁴Gnomon 6 (1930), 54.

deWaele. Two examples of script in the Corinthian epichoric alphabet, consisting of proper names, are preserved on fragments of pottery²⁵. To the beginning of the fourth century belongs the inscribed seat block that has been mentioned, and probably in this period should also be dated the words NIKA NIKA, 'Victory, Victory', scratched by an enthusiastic spectator on another seat, and also a list of names cut on a marble block that has been broken into many pieces. Some large Corinthian roof-tiles of the same age are stamped with the unusual name Xenomachos. A Greek inscription of the Roman period on a statue-base records that by approval of the Senate a certain L. Beibios Oursoulos dedicated a statue to his son, a boy actor, famous for victories in various specified games. This document is important for the references to the games and for the light it may throw on the order of the contests. A late Greek epitaph curiously invokes the curse of Annas and Caiaphas on any person attempting violation of the grave of a lady named Makedonia. The significance of this curse is in the fact that neither of the Jewish high priests who were arrested by the Romans for their part in the condemnation of Christ received the final boon of decent burial, for Annas was left to an unenviable fate (he was sewed up alive in a fresh bull's hide), and the body of Caiaphas was placed under a heap of stones in Crete in a place that is still pointed out by dwellers in the island.

In addition to the Erastus-inscription in the square the Latin inscriptions include a tantalizingly small fragment with a dedicatory caption to Julius Caesar, a dedication (on a column drum) to Isis and Serapis, whose temples on the way up to Acrocorinth reflect the presence of a large foreign element in the city, and a statement on a small marble block commemorating the erection of a building at his private expense by a certain Hicesius, whom I like to identify with the famous physician of Smyrna of that name who flourished in the first century B.C. The possibility of such an identification seems to me to be increased by the fact that Galen went to Corinth to practice medicine after he had achieved great repute in Smyrna²⁶. The implication is that friendly intercourse existed between the medical schools of Smyrna and Corinth. There is also a broken slab with the name and titles of Aemilius Primus, which was used to repair a break in the roof of the drain from the orchestra. The extrication of this slab led to the discovery of the Beibios monument. Among the imperial dedications an inscription on a marble architrave block, an inscription almost defaced, but cleverly deciphered by Dr. deWaele, revealed that the building was dedicated to Trajan and to the city. The words are TRAIANO AUG GERMANICO ET COLONIAE LAUD IUL. Thus the hoard of our epigraphical material is comparatively small, but its importance is relatively great.

(To be concluded)

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²⁵30 (1926), 5, Figure 3; 33 (1929), 540.
²⁶Galen 2, 217.

REVIEWS

Coordination of Non-Coordinate Elements in Vergil
By E. Adelaide Hahn. Geneva, New York: W. F. Humphrey (1930). Pp. xiii + 265.

In a doctor's thesis of Columbia University, entitled Coordination of Non-Coordinate Elements in Vergil, Professor E. Adelaide Hahn has undertaken a task that may well have given pause to any spirit less bold than hers, the attempt to analyze "the manner in which the suggestiveness of <Vergil's> poetry has been evolved out of the bald logic of prose..." (1-2). In this study she confines herself to an examination of the phenomenon of fusion or blending whereby two entities, "two different ways of expressing the same thought" or even "two different thoughts" which, "if viewed from the standpoint of strict logic, cannot be considered as absolutely parallel" (1), are combined into "a single harmonious and highly suggestive one..." (1). If her study does not reveal, as she herself hints (2), even the *disiecti membra poetae*, it does at least make evident how easy it would be to become a poet if poetry were merely a matter of diction and style!

The material is grouped under two main heads: (1) coordinate members that are parallel logically but not grammatically (5-140), (2) coordinated members that are parallel grammatically but not logically (141-244). In each group are numerous divisions and subdivisions all of which are conveniently listed in the analytical Table of Contents (vii-xii). The first group includes coordinate nouns which differ from each other in number or case, coordinate verbs which differ in voice, tense, mood, coordinate clauses of various types, and, finally, nouns which are coordinated with clauses and with other parts of speech, such as infinitives, adjectives in the same or different cases, and adverbs. The second group includes coordinate members consisting of different types of terms, such as abstract and concrete, terms expressing state and action, cause and result, etc., and members in which a dependent word in one member is parallel in thought with a leading word in the other, and those in which one term includes the other, either logically or physically.

The conclusion (245-246) which the author draws from her minute and exhaustive investigation into this feature of Vergil's poetic art is one of which every reader of Vergil is to a greater or less degree aware, namely, that "... Vergil tends to coordinate non-coordinate elements to a great degree...", to a greater degree, she is inclined to think, than other writers of his time, gaining thereby "force and effectiveness" or "delicacy and subtlety" that would not result from a stricter logic and balance.

This is, of course, true enough, but one cannot help feeling that the author sometimes finds non-coordinate elements where they do not exist. When for example she includes under members that are parallel logically but not grammatically two nouns in the ablative case, in order to illustrate "Substantives in the Same Case Used in Different Ways" (7), as in Aeneid 7.216-217,

consilio . . . animisque volentibus . . . adferimur, on the ground (9) that *consilio* seems to express means, *animis* manner, she is certainly introducing a distinction that Vergil himself would not have felt, for the nouns are not "used in different ways". The same criticism applies to her distinction (31) between the subjunctives in Aeneid 5.59-60, poscamus ventos . . . velit . . . sibi ferre, as volitive (hortatory) and optative. However much one may be inclined to agree with Miss Hahn in her insistence (4, 23, n. 102, 28-29, 245) that Vergil's fondness for inconcinnity was due to some other "impelling force" than the exigencies of meter, one feels that she is often too subtle in her analyses. Thus she attempts to differentiate (29) between the present and the perfect infinitive in Aeneid 10.55-56, quid pestem evadere belli iuvit et Argolicos medium fugisse per ignes, on the ground that the act denoted by *pestem evadere belli* is "general and prolonged", whereas that denoted by *Argolicos medium fugisse per ignes* is "specific". This seems to be a distinction without a difference, since both acts are specific and both refer to the escape from the same danger, described as *Argolici ignes*, in the one case, in the other as *pestis belli*. In some cases, also, the classification of coordinate members seems to be based upon the English translation of the Latin. Thus she classifies the nouns in Georgics 2.101 *dis et mensis accepta secundis* under substantives in different cases, understanding *dis* as a dative, *mensis* as an ablative of time (11), chiefly, it would appear, because to her ears the effect of Conington's translation of the nouns as datives, "welcome to the gods and to the banquet's second course", is "unnatural" (11, n. 50). Many of her categories, therefore, seem to have no other justification than her own feeling that inconcinnity gives a more pleasing or a more picturesque effect. Hence in Aeneid 4.179-180 sororem . . . pedibus celerem et perniciibus alis, where, as 9.178 iaculo celerem levibusque sagittis, which she herself quotes (118, n. 469), proves, *pedibus* and *alis* are certainly parallel and just as certainly dependent upon *celerem*, she prefers (117) to construe *pedibus* as ablative of specification with *celerem* and to make *perniciibus alis* an ablative of quality. Her objection to the first view (117) is that "in that event *perniciibus* seems decidedly redundant . . ." It may not, however, have seemed redundant to Vergil, just as it did not, in a similar collocation, seem redundant to Seneca, *temporis perniciissimi celeritas* (Epistulae 108.27). Even if Miss Hahn expresses in another connection (46, n. 181) her unwillingness to yield to Seneca's judgment on "a question of personal interpretation . . .", she must admit that Seneca knew Latin and that knowledge must go before interpretation.

This tendency to over-nice distinctions compels Miss Hahn to be illogical in the arrangement of her material. In the example cited above from Aeneid 7.216-217, consilio . . . animisque volentibus . . . adferimur, the two ablatives are classed among members which are not parallel grammatically because one seems to her to be an ablative of means, the other of manner; other ablatives, as in Georgics 2.160, fluctibus et fremitu adsurgens Benace marino, although one seems

to her to "express means shading off into . . . specification" (149), the other manner, are classed among members that are parallel grammatically. The author anticipates this criticism by saying (141, n. 592) that some of the examples treated in the second part of her book really belong to either or both divisions, but how the same pair of nouns can be in one part of the book classed as not parallel grammatically and in the other as parallel grammatically one fails to see.

In the course of her study Miss Hahn is led to discuss, chiefly by means of footnotes, many of the most difficult passages in Vergil and also many vexatious problems of Latin syntax. The question, for example, whether certain clauses introduced by *nec*, *neque enim*, *enim*, *sed enim*, are really parenthetical or are connected by these particles, as coordinating or subordinating conjunctions, with preceding clauses, gives rise to six pages of footnotes (68-73) in which are considered the possible use of *nec* for *non* or *ne* and the force of *enim*, whether assertive only or causal, hence connective. She is inclined to doubt the use of *nec* for *non*, although she admits (68, n. 296, 76, n. 307) that *nec* "certainly appears to approach very closely" to *non*, whatever that may mean, in such passages as Aeneid 9.813-814, Eclogues 3, 102, and in the phrase *neque enim*. She might well have quoted in this connection the authoritative discussions of Wackernagel, Vorlesungen über Syntax², 2.259 (Basel, Birkhäuser, 1926), and Löfstedt, Syntactica, 265-269 (Lund, Gleerup, 1928).

The limits of a review preclude consideration of the many interesting questions raised in these notes and indeed throughout the book. I may mention, however, Miss Hahn's discussion (106-109) of the difficult *invidisse* in Aeneid 11.271, which she coordinates with the nouns in the preceding lines, making the infinitive dependupon *referam* (264) and construing the sentence as interrogative. Surely, however, Vergil, had he meant this line to be a question, would have repeated *-ne* of 265. The words *nunc etiam* in the following line (271) imply, it seems to me, that *invidisse deos* is a statement, however one may explain the syntax. Miss Hahn advances, I think, the proper explanation of the passage in Georgics 1.199-203, but it is strange that she can say (44) that she had not seen "this precise explanation given anywhere . . ." It is given by Papillon-Haigh in their note on the passage. This excellent commentary, however, Miss Hahn seems not to have used.

Even though the author's conclusions do not always compel assent, even though there is sometimes, as she herself recognizes (118, n. 475), much splitting of hairs, high praise is due to her industry, enthusiasm, ingenuity, and to her ability to seize essentials and to illustrate them aptly. These qualities are often lost, however, under an avalanche of words. Moreover, the introduction of numerous footnotes (there are 1155 such notes in the 246 pages), the vexatious use of parentheses, and the provoking habit of suggesting possibilities only to deny their validity, distract the attention and make the book very difficult to read. There are helpful indices of the passages from Vergil and other

authors which have been discussed (247-258) and an Index Rerum (259-264) supplementary to the Table of Contents.

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The Love Poems of Joannes Secundus. A Revised Latin Text and an English Verse Translation, Together with an Introductory Essay on the Latin Poetry of the Renaissance. By F. A. Wright. London: George Routledge and Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc. (1930). Pp. 253.

Classicists have extended with such reluctance the bounds of the Silver Age of Latinity that one need not feel surprised at an almost total neglect of the Iron Age of Renaissance Latin. With a volume of the Broadway Translations¹, Professor F. A. Wright breaks the silence of a hundred years in giving English versions of a Latin poet considered in his day the equal of Catullus. In Puttenham's famous Arte of English Poesie it is said:

Catullus had made of them <= epithalamia> one or two very artificial and civil, but none more excellent than of late yeeres a young noble man of Germanie as I take it Iohannes Secundus who in that and in his poem De Basii passeth any of the auncient or moderne Poetes in my judgement.

Without taking at face value the contemporary estimate of Secundus's works, one may still be grateful that the best of them are now available in competent and sympathetic translation. Scholars who are interested in the imitations of classic poets and in the transmission of their phrases and conceptions to modern literatures will find an important and sometimes neglected link in this foremost of neo-Latin poets. Frequently the assimilation of classic ideas is not direct, and the works of Secundus are of considerable significance to students of national literatures of the Renaissance. The indebtedness of Ronsard to Secundus has been fairly discussed by Laumonier in his excellent study of that poet; Marini's extensive borrowings seem not as yet to have been competently investigated. Delatre has pointed out the not inconsiderable influence on Herrick, and a study of Secundus's influence on sixteenth and seventeenth century English poetry is at present being made under the direction of Professor Max Förster, of Munich.

Professor Wright's translation is unquestionably superior to those which precede it. The only earlier version of any poetical value is that of Thomas Stanley (1647), which is limited to fourteen of the Basia. It has been twice reprinted in the last eight years. Professor Wright has been particularly successful in rendering the grace and the simplicity of the Latin, which in Stanley's version are likely to be a bit decorated. For example, the second stanza of Basium 9 reads in the original (66):

Mensura rebus est sua dulcibus²,
ut quodque mentes suavius adficit,
fastidium sic triste secum
limite proximiore ducit.

¹For my notice of thirteen volumes of the Broadway Translations see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 19.195-198, 207-210. C. K. >

²I should set a period, or at least a colon, here. C. K. >

Stanley weaves from this:

The wary lover learns by measure
To circumscribe his greatest joy;
Lest, what well-husbanded yields pleasure,
Might by the repetition cloy.

Professor Wright's translation of the first two stanzas of this poem will represent fairly his manner:

Kiss me; but kiss me not too much.

Whisper not always in my ear.

Make me not weary of the touch
Of soft arms ever near.

The rarer joys the sweeter are.

In love there should due measure be.
If pleasure is prolonged too far

It breeds satiety.

The translator is particularly to be commended for his inclusion of selections from the elegies, the odes, and the epigrams. No previous English translation has gone beyond the Kisses and the Epithalamion, although the elegies and the odes have long been familiar to French and German readers in the translations of Develay and Franz Blei. Professor Wright has, perhaps, a happier touch in epigram than in the amatory lyrics. For example, the piece entitled In duos se basiantes in aede sacra (178) is reproduced with a simplicity and a charm quite worthy of the original:

Lasses and lads, be not afraid,
Though in a church your tryst you've made.
Clasp hand in hand before the altar
Nor let God's presence make you falter.
'Twere shame if shame should stop a kiss,
Even in such a place as this.

The original runs as follows:

State cum pulchris iuvenes puellis,
iungite et dextras, neque templis nec vos
ara divellat veneranda divom.
Quin inauratae temerantur arae
aureo pro basiolo puellae.
Laedit et magno hic pudor est pudori.

Professor Wright's book suffers somewhat from an inadequate Introduction (3-33). Disproportionate attention is paid to Owen and Buchanan, both of whom were later than Secundus and had no relation to him except to imitate his work. This one pertinent relation is unmentioned. The account of Secundus's life is extremely brief and not altogether accurate. Professor Wright says (25): "On his father's death in 1532, Joannes, who had been studying under the lawyer poet Alciati at Bourges, was given the place of secretary to the Archbishop of Toledo . . ." Secundus remained at Bourges until 1533, went home to Mechlin, and in the same year joined his brother in Spain. He became secretary to the Archbishop of Toledo in the summer of 1534.

The bibliography of English translations is likewise inexact (241-243). The edition of 1778 ascribed to George Ogle is in reality the third edition of a new translation by Dr. John Nott, friend of Johnson, and translator of Catullus and Lucretius. This was by far the most popular (and the worst) of English versions; nine editions of it are listed in the British Museum catalogue, and at least five more have appeared.

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